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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the developmental background of the video "revolution" and reviews the availability and use of video in Sweden in 1981. A summary and discussion of the results of various recently published studies of video use focuses on research by Hulten and Wachtmeister (1981) and Wall and Cederblad (1981). A summary is also provided of the findings of the third wave of the Media Panel research project, a longitudinal study of video use that began in 1975 with a panel of nursery children and parents in Malmo, Sweden, and primary children and parents in Vaxjo, Sweden. A discussion of study results relates video use to the variables of age, sex, social background, video viewing, and school performance. Reasons for video use and why it is demanding such a large place in the media environment are addressed in an analysis of the realistic possibilities created by its development. Three developmental sketches discuss the changing electronic media environment from 1945-1970, 1970-1985, and 1985 and beyond. Eight references are listed. (LMM)

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VIDEO AND YOUTH:

NEW PATTERNS OF MEDIA USE

media panel

report no 18
december 1981

Keith Roe

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REFERENCES

FOREWORD: THE MEDIA PANEL PROGRAM

The Media Panel is a research program conducted at the Department of Sociology, The University of Lund, and the Department for Information Techniques, The University College of Växjö. It is based on two research panels, one panel originally consisting of nursery school children and their parents, and the other of primary school children and their parents. The research program is described in Rosengren & Windahl (1978). This paper is a report on video use taken from the third research wave of the school panels within the Media Panel program. The aim of the panels is to analyze adolescents' TV behaviour and relations.

THE PANELS

The primary school panel is based in Växjö, a town of 62,000 inhabitants situated in Southern Sweden. The population of the Växjö panel consists of adolescents from eleven to fifteen years old. The study had a planned time span of six years: three research waves, with two years interval. All three waves have now been collected. One of the reasons for this design - and, indeed, for the whole research program, is that mass media research has for the most part had the character of ad.hoc research, whereas longitudinal and cumulative studies have been rarer. The Media Panel program is an attempt to change this plan.

The nursery school panel is based in the city of Malmö in South West Sweden, with 250,000 inhabitants. The population of the Malmö panel consists of children from six to ten years of age and is under the direction of Sonesson (see Rosengren & Windahl, 1978, p8). It shares, with the Växjö panel, the planned time span of six years, three research waves at two years interval.

For both panels, self-administered questionnaires were presented in the classroom to both populations in December 1980 and March 1981, thus completing the data collection stage of the third research wave. The latter questionnaire contained questions on video use and for the Växjö panel also on attitude to school. In addition the pupils contemporaneous school marks were collected in all

subjects, these, taken together with media use, being primarily intended to form the basis of a forthcoming dissertation by Keith Roe. It is this video and school data from the third research wave which provides the greater part of the material for this report.

1. INTRODUCTION: THE PURPOSE OF THIS PAPER

"The Picture Society is Here." (Aftonbladet, 15-11-81)

The pronouncement of the future's arrival today quoted above is typical of Swedish journalistic output on the massmedia in the second half of 1981. The impending advent of the new media world has been heralded by its vanguard, the video recorder. Indeed 1981 could, with some justification, be labelled the year of video fever. Prophetic sketches of the new world that is to be have abounded with the usual conflicting mix of enthusiastic avowal of the possibilities provided to mankind by the new technology and apocalyptic doom mongering predicting the end of this or that vital part of the world as we know it. Amidst this maelstrom of speculation it is sometimes difficult for the media researcher to maintain a sense of proportion and objectivity with regard to the new developments and not to be carried away by the general flood of over-reaction which characterizes all new fads and fashions. One strategy is to sit tight and wait for the tide to subside to realistic proportions, another and more preferable approach is to stand back a little and take a cool look at the new phenomenon with as much historical, theoretical and empirical accuracy, and as little unfounded speculation as possible. It is hoped that this paper will satisfy these criteria

In order to achieve this we shall examine firstly the developmental background of the videogram 'revolution' together with a review of its availability and use in Sweden today. This will be followed in chapter 2 by a summary and discussion of the results of the various recently published studies of video use. Chapter 3 will present a descriptive summary and discussion of the findings of the 'Media Panel' research project with respect to video use taken from a panel of children in Malmö and a panel in Växjö. Chapter 4 will address the question 'why video?' dealing with the realistic possibilities opened by the development and why it is demanding such a large place in the media environment. Three developmental sketches of this changing environment are presented and the implications for future research discussed.

2. BACKGROUND TO VIDEO '81

2.1 The Videogram Market in Sweden

A recently published extensive government report in Sweden gives ample details of the tremendous developments in the Swedish video market in 1981, compared with previous years. Table 1 shows the sales and distribution figures for the period 1977-80. This period was characterized by a slower expansion than had earlier been anticipated and prognoses from the early '70's were not fulfilled. 1977-9 sees a slowly expanding market especilly for home video with 1980 as the beginning of the 'take off' with sales of 80,000 video recorders. 1981 has, however, been the real 'take off' year. Prognoses for sales vary but centre around an almost 100% increase in the number of video recorders. In reality this means annual sales of 120,000 to 150,000 recorders or over 2,300 to over 2,800 a week, bringing the total in the country to over a quarter of a million by the end of 1981.

End of year	Sold during the year	Total	Total in instits	% of all house-holds	% of TV house-holds	% colour TV house-holds
1977	7 000	7 000	2 000	0.14	0.14	0.18
1978	18 000	25 000	6 000	0.51	0.54	0.68
1979	32 000	57 000	10 000	1.3	1.3	1.7
1980	80 000	140 000	20 000	3.2	3.4	4.3

Table 1. Sales of video cassette recorders in Sweden 1977-80
(Source: "Videogramutredningens slutbetänkande" S.O.U., Stockholm 1981, p63)

Sales estimates for the next four years vary from a 'pessimistic' total number of recorders for 1985 of 700,000 to a 'moderate' 860,000 , up to an 'optimistic' 1,460,000 . Obviously prediction in such a situation is difficult, not least because of the disturbing influence of further anticipated technological development

in the field. The least that can be said, however, is that by 1985 a significant proportion of 20-40% of Swedish households will possess a video recorder.

2.2 The International Videogram Market

International comparisons are always fraught with danger because of differing definations of what constitutes a 'household'. Those statistics that are available, however, show clearly that 1981 has pushed Sweden very high into the ranks of video using nations. Already at the end of 1980 3.4% of Swedish TV households had videograms, a figure topped only by Japan (5%). The american figure is surprisingly low at 2.4%, perhaps because of the competition of large scale development of cable TV, though obviously in absolute size this makes the USA a large and important video market. Overall, however, in 1981 there were more video recorders in Europe than in the USA, Great Britain being the largest absolute market in Europe for video products.

2.3 The Video Cassette Market in Sweden

Sales of blank cassettes are rising sharply. In Europe in 1980 10-11 million were sold, in 1981 this figure expected to double. By 1985 it is reckoned that annual sales will reach 80 million. Alongside the market for blank cassettes for direct recording in the home of TV programmes has grown up a large and rapidly developing market for the sale or hire of pre-recorded cassettes, especially those containing long films and pornography. Indeed the growth of this video hire market has been one of the most visible aspects of 1981's video development in Sweden. It is estimated that approximately 1,000 outlets existed in the first half of 1981, ranging from large department stores to small TV shops and a growing number of specialized video boutiques. In the autumn of 1981, new distribution channels were introduced adding 300 newspaper kiosks and boutiques to the number of outlets. It should be noted that at present the three big cities of Stockholm, Gothenberg and Malmö account for a large proportion of outlets and consumption. This reflects the differential patterns of videogram ownership in

the country, the three large cities being overrepresented. Counties with big cities account for 47% of video ownership but only 36% of the population whereas the five northernmost counties have 14% of the population but only 7% of video ownership. This tendency for video ownership to be a city phenomenon can, however, be expected to change as the distribution network spreads.

The importance of the hire market is clearly illustrated by the estimation that 80-90% of those who watch video material at home have hired films. The price is relatively cheap, approximately the same as a cinema visit or a ticket to an icehockey match with the vital point that once hired (the normal hire time is 24 hours), the video cassette can be viewed by any number of people, ordinarily a family or group of friends. In this respect video hiring is in fact much cheaper than most forms of comparable entertainment.

By the summer of 1981 there were 800 titles available on the Swedish market, not including wholly pornographic material (which can be reckoned in hundreds). Adventure and horror films dominate, some of an explicitly violent nature and which are cut or banned in the cinema. The greater part of the material is foreign in origin, mostly Anglo-American. This should not be surprising in view of the fact that Anglo-American material has long dominated the Swedish cinema and represents a significant proportion of Swedish television output.

2.4 The International Video Cassette Market

The pattern of video cassette consumption in other countries is roughly comparable to that in Sweden. A recent report noted that in all countries with video, violent or pornographic material accounts for a significant part of consumption. In the USA pornography accounts for 25% of available titles and 40% of sales.

Great Britain already noted as Europe's largest video market shows similar patterns. In May 1981 films accounted for 52% of available titles and pornography 23%. Moreover it appears that as video re-

corders become more widely available the proportion of hire-sales taken by these categories shows a tendency to increase (see table 2).

The speed of development of the British market for pre-recorded video cassettes probably provides a reasonable indicator of the type of future development that can be expected in Sweden. The video magazine 'Screen Digest' regularly publishes the statistics of the cassette market. Table 2 taken from 'Screen Digest' shows that there has been a rapid increase in the number of available titles from 800 in May 1980 to over 2,000 in May 1981.

Type	May 1980		Oct 1980		May 1981	
	Nr titles	%	Nr titles	%	Nr titles	%
Films	359	44	647	49	1,058	52
Pornography	165	20	264	20	467	23
Children's & Family progr	59	7	85	6	100	5
Popular music & light entertainment	69	9	106	8	122	6
Serious music & dance	8	1	14	1	23	1
Sport	118	15	139	11	171	8
Art, culture & debate	16	2	19	1	36	2
Other	18	2	48	4	64	3
Total	812	100	1,322	100	2,041	100

Table 2. Video cassette titles available in Great Britain May 1980 to May 1981
(Source: 'Screen Digest', May & November 1980, March & June 1981. Note percentage figures have been rounded off from the two decimal points presented in 'Screen Digest'.)

The most significant trend marked by table 2 is the fact that only films and porrography increased their percentage share over the period by more than 1%, and that although the total number of titles

available in other categories increased their percentage of the total decreased.

The tendencies indicated in these figures can be expected to continue since the large american film and entertainment corporations are planning to greatly increase the number of titles available. The Music Corporation of America (M.C.A.) already owns 11,000 programmes which it intends to put into the video cassette market. It has also negotiated agreements with the large film corporations to market their films as video cassettes. The entry of the great american corporations directly into the market in Europe can be expected to change its present rather small scale entrepreneurial character.

2.5 Summary and Conclusion

It is clear from the data presented above that video recorders have arrived as a significant part of the mass media environment not only in Sweden but also Japan, Great Britain and the USA. In the last year the growth of the industry has been spectacular and all the indications are that it will continue to be so at least until 1984-5. A fascinating and not altogether originally anticipated development has been the growth of a widespread distribution network for pre-recorded video cassettes particularly those containing films, (especially adventure & horror films), and pornography. Moreover the availability of, and demand for, these categories continues to increase so that in Britain they now account for 75% of all available material. The relative cheapness of hiring pre-recorded cassettes makes them highly competitive in the leisure sector and it is a reasonable assumption that other forms of entertainment, most especially the cinema, will suffer loss as a consequence.

In view of these factors it is a reasonable conclusion that videograms are destined to be a fixture rather than a passing fad. Moreover the new technology is multi-faceted and gives the potential for many sided developments. It therefore demands serious consideration in media studies from now on. The next chapter will examine

sociological data on video use from a number of recently published reports.

3. RECENT RESEARCH ON VIDEO USE

One result of video's development in 1981 has been the arrival into the academic arena of the first published reports on video use. These enable us to draw a rough picture of the social patterns of video use that are emerging.

3.1 Hultén & Wachtmeister, 1981

This report from Sveriges Radio was amongst the first to provide such data. The authors note that video first became popular among those who work full time, are highly educated and are middle aged. For economic reasons, if no other, this is not too surprising. In the last six months, however, 15-24 year olds are emerging more and more as the most significant age group and overall a tendency for video to become a youth entertainment is noted. Possible reasons for this will be dealt with in chapter 5.

In their interviews Hultén & Wachtmeister inquired as to the motivation for the acquisition of a video recorder. The most frequently named motive was that TV transmission times were inconvenient (35%). Next largest was 'for the children' (14%), whilst the same percentage stated 'recording of special programmes' as a motive. 13% denied any special motivation. There were some differences in motivation according to sex with men more often naming inconvenient transmission times and dissatisfaction with TV output and women more often naming 'channel clashes' and 'for the children'. Age wise 15-24 year olds were markedly more critical of TV content than other age groups. Indeed the report notes that almost everyone dissatisfied with TV output is between 15 and 45, the over 45's more often stating that they wish to avoid channel conflict. Educational level was found not to be significant in motivations for acquiring video. In the pre-recorded cassette hire market it was 15-24 year olds who hired most often.

Three percent of their sample admitted to seeing video 'in the last week'. Hultén & Wachtmeister then classified the reported programmes into 8 categories, with the following results.

Category	% of total (Nr = 475 prog)
Longfilms	40
TV series, theatre	19
Variety, artist entertainment	14
Childrens programmes	11
Factual programmes	9
Sport	6
Pornography	0
Other	1
	100

Table 3. Programmes seen on video
(Source: Hultén, O & Wachtmeister, A-M, 'Video in Sweden', Sveriges Radio 1981, Stockholm)

This distribution is what is to be expected from the discussion in chapter 2 with the glaring exception of pornography. A zero percentage in this category is say Hultén & Wachtmeister, "to be taken with a pinch of salt", a considerable pinch in view of the sales figures from the video boutiques. If adults are reluctant to report viewing pornography their children are, as we shall see in chapter 4 somewhat less reluctant.

Families with children and younger households were found to be most likely to possess video, and pensioners, presumably for economic reasons, least likely. 74% of programmes viewed were reported as self recorded although the authors note that the percentage of hired material has clearly increased since previous research. Most use video to adapt TV transmission times to their own requirements

but the conclusion drawn is that there clearly exist a number of different types of video users.

Firstly, there is a big group who cannot see TV transmission for various reasons and record transmissions for viewing at a later time. Secondly, there are those who use video to see more TV by solving programme clashes on different channels. A third group are those who are dissatisfied with TV. For them video gives the possibility to selectively record chosen programmes whilst engaged in other activities, they also complement this by hiring pre-recorded material. Children are a fourth group. They tend to use video in order to record programmes where they like to gather together. These, as Hultén & Wachtmeister comment, are not limited to children's programmes.

3.2 The Hultén & Wachtmeister Study: Some Remarks

This study gives us an important glimpse of the empirical world of video use in Sweden. Being primarily concerned with television and video impact on television use, however, the study may have missed a number of significant groups in their categorization. The domination of films in the pre-recorded hire market clearly indicates that one such group may be those who use video as an alternative to the cinema and not just as a mere supplement to television. Ever Hultén & Wachtmeister's third group are open to alternative interpretation according to one's perspective for it may just as well be that this dissatisfied group use video predominately as a vehicle for pre-recorded commercial material supplementing this with selectively recorded TV programmes.

Another weakness of the study is the very loosely termed category of 'children' nominated as group 4. It is obvious that the use of video is different for teenagers than for younger children as the results in chapter 4 will show and it is important that these two age specific categories should not be lumped together. A specific group for adolescents needs to be made in any schematic categorization. Moreover adolescent use of video may have very little to do with attitude to TV in any sense and very much more to do with

the adolescent peer group social system. As many sociological mass media studies have shown the period of middle-late adolescence is a very singular one with regard to media use and it is important not to forget this evidence when dealing with video use.

Overall Hultén & Wachtmeister's bias towards television is unfortunate and may conceal as much as it reveals. The many faceted nature of the video technology means that it spans across and influences all aspects of the media environment and is not merely an adjunct or alternative to only one form even if this was its original intention. This important point will be returned to in chapter 5.

3.3 Wall, J & Cederblad, M-L, 1981

This report from the pedagogical institution in Stockholm deals more specifically with the video use patterns of young people in the middle and high grades of compulsory school in the Greater Stockholm area. As already noted video tends at present to be concentrated in the large cities and the research found that 11.5% reported having a video recorder at home, compared to 7% for families with children in the whole country. More significant perhaps a whole 84% of the sample reported that there was one or more places where they could watch video if they wanted. Only 13% reported as never having seen video.

Frequency of viewing is obviously an important factor and it was found that as yet frequency was relatively low with 38% having seen video only 1-5 times in the previous six months. Significantly, however, there was a group of approximately 12% who view between once a week - to each day, and it must be expected that as videogram ownership becomes even more common this high frequency group, already significant in size, will increase still further.

An interesting result of this research concerned the relative frequency of direct recording and of hiring of pre-recorded material. 59% reported seeing one or more programmes directly recorded from

Swedish television in the previous six months, whilst 55% reported having seen one or more hired or bought pre-recorded programmes. Furthermore the two high frequency categories were equal for each type. This represents a somewhat increased use of commercially pre-recorded material viewed than in the Hultén & Wachtmeister study, and strongly reinforces the argument presented earlier that the adolescent age group should be treated as a special category.

The question of how young people obtain bought or hired cassettes is a topical one in public debate because of the high proportion of violent and pornographic material available. In this respect the findings of Wall & Cederblad are very interesting. The question was split into two parts, a general one concerning who obtained cassettes and a specific one concerning the acquisition of violent, horror and pornographic material (which 45% reported as having seen). Tables 4 and 5 show the results. Table 4 shows replies to the question 'Who obtained the last hired or bought cassette you saw?'

Answer alternative	Frequency	%
You yourself	17	5
Friends or siblings	107	29
Parents or other adults	149	40
Don't know	98	26
Total	371	100
Haven't seen hired or bought cassettes	229	

Table 4. Who obtained video cassettes?
(Source: Wall, J & Cederblad, M-L, "Stockholmsungdomar och video", Pedagogiska Inst, Stockholm, in "Nordicom Nytt", nr 2-3, 1981, p4)

Table 5 shows replies to the question 'If you have seen hired or bought violent, horror or pornographic video cassettes, who has

hired or bought them most often?'

Answer alternative	Frequency	%
You yourself	14	5
Friends or siblings	109	41
Parents or other adults	145	54
Total	268	100

232 had never seen such material or never seen video at all.

Table 5. Who obtained violent, horror and pornographic cassettes? (Source: Wall, J & Cederblad, M-L, "Stockholmsungdomar och video", Pedagogiska Inst, Stockholm, in "Nordicom Nutt", nr 2-3, 1981, p5)

These figures show clearly that the question of availability of video material lies squarely with siblings and friends on the one-hand and parents and other adults on the other. The fair assumption is that in the vast majority of cases acquisition comes to younger adolescents via people who are older so that an age based formal control of hiring and selling in the boutiques is liable to be somewhat ineffectual

Perhaps one of the most significant results of the research in Stockholm is that which shows the sex and age composition of the heavy users category. This group of 12% was composed of 61% boys and 39% girls. This distribution is in line with normal results of TV consumption amongst adolescents, where boys also predominate. More surprising is the age distribution which shows that 60% of heavy users were 14-15 years old, 22% 12-13 years old and 18% 10-11 years old. This increasing use of video over the 10-15 year age period to a peak at 15 in this group is in direct contradiction to the normally found age pattern of TV viewing which shows an often sharp decline around ages 14-15 from earlier very high levels. This is perhaps the most surprising and interesting of the results

so far presented and it is obviously open to various interpretations.

First and foremost it should be recalled that the often reported declining use of TV in the older age group was commonplace long before the video technology became available so that explanations of the new patterns in terms of adolescents switching directly from TV to video as a simple functional alternative would be grossly oversimplic. A more meaningful explanation would be that the new media form has been in some way appropriate by a group hitherto rather low in visual media use in response to some unique possibilities which the new technology makes exclusively available. We shall return to this important point again in chapter 5.

One final point worth mentioning is the reports' finding that heavy users are more likely to play truant than others. This may be an interesting fact reinforcing the conclusion that heavy video users are a special social group. It should, however, be treated with considerable caution in view of the fact that the greater proportions were boys in the 14-15 years age group, a group well known for its propensity to play truant in any event implies, that their truancy may have little to do with video. However, even bearing this in mind there is reason to believe that video use is associated with certain characteristics of the school experience as we shall see when we examine this relationship in chapter 4.

3.4 The Wall & Cederblad Study: Remarks

The Stockholm school study has so far only presented a brief summary of its main findings without discussion or analysis. We look forward to the final report which will presumably analyze the findings in more detail. A number of interesting results have been shown, and, taken together with the Hultén & Wachtmeister report, it is clear that rather specific social patterns of video use are already emerging. Most significant is the explicit or implicit acknowledgement of a large degree of differentiation in the video audience. Differentiation is a more rewarding approach than widespread generalization and it is hoped that this perspective will

continue to be developed in future research.

It is now time to go over to the results of the Media Panel's research on the uses of video amongst the children in its study to see if the patterns seen here are repeated and to see if any new aspects can be discerned.

4. THE MEDIA PANEL RESULTS

4.1 The Study

Details of the Media Panel project as a whole are given on page 1. The data to be dealt with here comes from the third research wave of the project. Both the pre-school panel in Malmö and the primary school panel in Växjö are dealt with. The Malmö pre-school panel, directed by Sonesson, consists of 202 children who are now in the fifth grade of school, approximately 10-11 years old. The Växjö sample is larger and now in the third research wave, consists of 945 children, 464 in the 9th grade (approx 15 years old) forming the main panel, 244 children in the 7th grade (approx 13 years old), and 237 children in the 5th grade.

4.2 Video Viewing

4.2.1 Age Differences

The first question was designed to ascertain how many of the children were in the habit of watching video ('Brukar ni se på video?'). 43% of the 5th graders in the Malmö study answered 'yes' whilst a total of 36% of the Växjö 5th graders gave this answer. A difference probably accounted for by the previously noted tendency for video use to be, at present, more of a city phenomenon.

Variation of viewing with age is illustrated in the Växjö panel where video use can be stated in terms of school years. This differentiation shows that of those in grade 5 36% see video, of those in grade 7 42% and in grad 9 31%, here we see that a pattern simi-

lar to that for age and TV emerges, with high viewing at 11 rising to a peak at 13 and then falling markedly at 15.

Age difference is also very important in terms of what is seen, see p 20 , which clearly indicates that viewing patterns at around 11 years of age show considerable differences from those at about 15 years of age.

4.2.2 Sex Differences

We noted in chapter 4 that according to Wall & Cederblad heavy video users tended to be boys. The Media Panel study shows, however, that this is not necessarily true when all users are analyzed. In the Malmö panel of 5th graders, boys were somewhat more likely to report viewing video. 49% of the boys in the sample gave this answer, compared to only 40% of the girls. When we examine the Växjö panel though, a contradictory picture emerges. Of the Växjö 5th grade boys 35% reported seeing video compared to 37% of the girls. In the 7th grade girls were even more likely to be video users, 46% of them reported seeing video compared to 39% of the boys. In grade 9, however, the boys once again emerge as having the greater propensity to view video, 33% of them gave the 'yes' answer against 29% of the girls.

Obviously no clear pattern is discernable here. The differences in the 5th and 9th grades are fairly insignificant, that in the 7th grade is, however, significant and can perhaps best be explained by the differential rates of puberty and maturation as between the sexes, which are perhaps greatest around this age (13 years). The Malmö result stands out even more and reinforces the finding that the large cities show distinct characteristics of video use as compared with the rest of the country.

We may also note that in the Växjö panel, 7th and 9th grade girls were slightly more likely than boys to report watching video away from home. In terms of with whom they watch, 5th and 7th grade boys more often reported viewing with friends than did the girls, although 9th grade girls were slightly more likely than the boys to

report that they tended to view with friends.

In terms of what is viewed a number of clear results were found in the Växjö panel. The general category of 'films' showed little difference as between the sexes. In terms of more specific types of content, however, sharp differences were found. 5th and 9th grade boys named 'violence' far more than girls,and slightly more in the 7th grade. In fact a surprising number of 7th grade video watching girls named 'violence' as 'usually viewed content'. Girls tended much more often to watch recorded TV programmes than boys in all grades. Horror films were named by both sexes, whereas pornography was almost completely a male interest. Boys also tended more often to mention war films and adventure films. Girls were slightly more likely to see music programmes.

4.2.3 Video Use and TV Consumption

The third research wave of the Media Panel also measured childrens television consumption thus enabling us to examine the relationship between TV and video use. The measured TV consumption was trichotomized into 'low', 'middle' and 'high' categories. The Malmö panel indicated a clear tendency for high TV consumers to be also those who watch video. Of the 'low' TV consumers 30% reported seeing video, of the 'medium' group 42% and of the 'high' TV group 55%. No such clear tendency emerges, however, amongst the 5th grade Växjö group. Here 31% of the 'low' TV group report seeing video against 37% of the 'medium' and, likewise 37% of the 'high'. A roughly similar pattern emerges from the 7th graders where 35% of the 'low' group, 45% of the 'medium', and 43% of the 'high' group report seeing video; and also from the 9th graders, where 25% of the 'low', 36% of the 'medium' and 37% of the 'high' TV groups gave the 'video answer'.

A distinct pattern is seen here in the Växjö panel. Clearly 'low' TV is associated with 'low' propensity to see video, but there is little difference in propensity for video between the 'medium' and 'high' TV groups. The most plausible explanation for this is the fact that the question asked merely 'do you tend to watch video',

a rather loose wording which does not permit quantative distinctions. It is therefore quite probable that while both 'medium' and 'high' TV users report comparable propensities to see video in general, the 'high' group see more video.

An analysis of what the panel reported seeing on video vis a vis TV consumption produces some interesting findings. With the category 'violence' 'low' TV consumers were most likely to view. 15% of them named this content category against 8% of 'medium' and 14% of 'high' TV consumers, in grade 9. The same was also true for the category of horror films and pornography. On the other hand, the 'low' TV group 9th graders were also most liable to see recorded TV programmes. For all other content categories the 'low' TV group were less likely to view. Clearly some contradictory phenomenon is at work here. On the one hand 'low' TV consumers who watch video use it to selectively record TV programmes, as one might expect. On the other hand those who watch least TV show a greater propensity to watch violent, horrific and pornographic video material than 'high' TV consumers. Clearly they are using video rather selectively too, in order to view types of material unavailable on TV. We cannot therefore draw a simple scheme that 'high' TV consumption equals 'high' video consumption equals use of 'cause for concern content'. Indeed the converse is true, 'low'TV consumption is more likely to lead to video use of such material. The implication is that for this group 'low' TV consumption is result not of reluctance to sit in front of a TV screen per se, but the fact that they find orthodox TV content unstimulating. This finding is thrown into sharper relief in subsequent analysis. Most of all, however, it shows the dangers of undifferentiated analysis, especially since it is only true for the 9th graders.

4.2.4 Video Use and Social Background

Numerous media studies have found a clear relationship between social class and media use (e g see Hedinsson, 1981). It is therefore of interest to see if there exists a relationship between social background and video use. One index of childrens social background is the educational level of their parents. In the Malmö study the educational level of the parents has been trichotomized to the

childrens reported tendency to see video. This analysis shows video use to be more common in families with a low educational level than a high. Thus of 'low educational level' families 47% of children replied that they watch video, in the medium education group 40% reported watching video whilst in the 'high educational level' families only 29% do so. As we shall see later there is also a marked relationship between certain aspects of video use and the children's own current educational performance. The Växjö material reveals slightly different information. Here analysis according to parents occupation is possible, categorized into four different groups. Class 1 roughly refers to higher professionals, class 2a to lower professionals and higher white collar occupations, class 2b roughly to lower white collar and 3 to blue collar working class occupations The relationship between fathers occupation and tendency to see video shows a clear trend. Of those with social class 1 fathers 23% see video, 27% of class 2a, 32% of class 2b and 35% of class 3 see video. Even if we look at mothers occupation a very similar pattern emerges, 25% in social class 1; 26% in 2a; 36% in 2b; and 37% in 3.

4.2.5 Video Viewing: Where? With Whom?

The question of where children and adolescents view video may at first glance seem facile. It has, however, been hypothesized (see chapter 5) that video may play a rather specialized function in the adolescent peer milieu being used as a focus for bringing the peer group together in a way in which TV is not used. Obviously children and adolescents sometimes come together to watch TV but the TV consumption figures after puberty show a marked decline whereas for a significant group video use may increase in these years implying that video offers something which TV does not. In this context it is interesting to ask the question where and with whom do young people see video?

Those who reported seeing video were subsequently asked where they saw it. Three answer alternatives were available, 'home', 'away from home' and 'both home and away from home'.

The Malmö panel video users tended to watch video away from home,

79% giving this answer. 11% reported seeing video at home and 10% both home and away. Very similar results were obtained in Växjö where 78% saw video away from home, 12% at home and 10% both home and away. The first thing to strike one about these results is their remarkable similarity. It could be argued that the results and their similarity are not surprising in view of the fact that only a small percentage of Swedish households at present possess a video recorder so that the majority must watch it away from home, and this is undoubtedly so, but before we dismiss the matter as insignificant it is instructive to also look at the question 'With whom do you watch video?'.

This was the third question addressed to the panels 'When you watch video do you then watch it mostly with ...'. The results of this question are shown below in table 6.

Answer alternative	Malmö panel %	Växjö panel %
Parents	12	6
Siblings	7	6
Friends	69	76
Parents & siblings	5	3
Siblings & friends	0	3
Parents, siblings & friends	4	5
Parents & friends	3	1
	100	100

Table 6. With whom do you mostly watch video?

These results help to put the question of 'where' into focus for they show that when young people view video their parents are not usually present, nor their siblings, but that video viewing is overwhelmingly a peer group activity, not a family based activity as

TV tends to be. We believe that this indicates a significant difference between the two media. This belief is further reinforced if we examine the question 'With whom do you see' according to age.

Answer alternative	5th grade %	7th grade %	9th grade %
Parents	13	9	2
Siblings	3	7	7
Friends	71	75	77
Parents & siblings	5	2	3
Siblings & friends	2	2	4
Parents, siblings & friends	5	4	6
Parents & friends	1	1	1
	100	100	100

Table 7. With whom do you mostly watch vide? By school grade

Here we see the rather startling fact that of the 9th grade viewers of video only 2% state that they watch with their parents as opposed to 77% with friends. If we divide the categories into those where parents are present and those where they are not we see that for the 9th graders 88% view video when their parents are not present at all i e with friends, siblings or both together. For 5th graders the figure is still high but reduced to 76%. In general then it is obvious that video use is indeed a peer based activity and that it becomes increasingly so with age. This is the strongest evidence yet that the video recorder is more than just a technologically improved appendix to the television set and that it is developing distinctive patterns of use in this age group. This evidence is even further reinforced by the data on <u>what</u> children and adolescents view on video for here we see that only a small percentage report that recorded television programmes are what they tend to view when they view video. It takes some organizing effort to come together, mostly away from one's own home, to view hired

video material and this indicates that video viewing is becoming one focal activity in the adolescent leisure system.

4.2.6 Video Viewing: What?

A large part of the public debate on video in Sweden has been taken up with the question of the type of content viewed by video users, especially that supposedly viewed by children. Chapter 3 indicated, by the sales statistics of the video shops and by user reserach, the general types of material viewed and this was seen to be roughly comparable to evidence from other video using countries.

The fourth question of this research on video asked the question 'What do you normally see on video?'. This was an open ended question and the respondents were free to write what they tended to see. The resulting programme categories and results are presented below (it should be noted that all reported programme types were ranked equally and not ranked into first, second choice etc).

Programme Category	Tend to see %			
	Malmö panel		Växjö panel	
	5th grade	5th grade	7th grade	9th grade
Films	21	18	32	18
Horror films	14	16	18	17
Adventure films	11	10	10	15
Violence	5	5	3	18
Cartoons	36	25	5	2
Detective/crime	9	27	12	11
Westerns	7	10	12	9
Recorded TV programmes	9	10	13	14
'Everything possible'	0	4	7	16
Pornography	0	4	7	15
Thrillers	1	10	6	4
Comedy	8	10	2	8
War films	7	2	7	6

/continued

Programme Category	Malmö panel	Tend to see % Växjö panel		
		5th grade	7th grade	9th grade
Music	4	2	7	5
Karate/Kung Fu	5	2	0	2
Sport	0	2	1	3

Table 8. 'What do you see on video?'
(Source: Media Panel 1981)

It is clear from these results that there is considerable differentiation in viewing content according to age. At about 11 years of age the most popular category is, by far, cartoons, which in the Malmö study was almost twice as large as any other category. It was also the largest single category in the Växjö 5th grade group. With age, however, other interests take over and we see from the Växjö results that violence, adventure films and pornography increase substantially in popularity, with thrillers, westerns and especially cartoons loosing their predominance as we move away from the 5th grade. We should also note that horror films are rather popular right across the age range constituting, in fact, the only really stable category. A sense of the macabre clearly seems less age bound than a liking for violence or pornography. It is also noteworthy that what could be termed 'cause for concern' content is top of the 9th grade viewing list. 'Violence' (the respondents own term for what they see), 'adventure', 'pornography' and 'horror' as well as the catch all categories of 'films' and 'everything possible' are the six most oft-mentioned 9th grade categories. The explanation for the popularity of this type of material is a matter for future research although it may turn out to be the simple 'forbidden fruit' one that most of this type of material is censored or banned for this age group through the other electronic media channels. It also no doubt accounts for the fact that, as we have seen, much of this material is viewed in the abscence of parents.

It was argued in chapter 3 that older (post pubescent?) adolescents' video use should be clearly differentiated from that of younger (pre-pubescent?) adolescents. The results of this section confirm that argument. Between the ages of eleven and fifteen there is a marked difference (with the exception of horror films) in type of material viewed. This may be representative of some process of general maturation or it could indicate that there exists a special group of fifteen year olds who tend to use this type of material rather heavily, whilst others, sharing other characteristics use it hardly at all. The analysis of all such hypothesized characteristics is beyond the scope of the present paper and must pose a task for future research. One particular set of variables do, however, fall within the compass of this report, namely those associated with the adolescents' schooling experience.

4.3 School Performance and Video Use

As noted earlier in chapter 3, Wall & Cederblad report that heavy video users tend to play truant from school more often than others. The whole relationship between mass media and school attitude and performance is a rather neglected one in media research. The Media Panel project is investigating this relationship and it is the subject of a future dissertation from Keith Roe. Roe hypothesizes that performance at, and attitude and commitment to, school are significant variables relating to adolescents mass media use. Some of the school performance and commitment data was therefore applied specifically to the video viewing results to see if any discernable patterns exist.

The school marks of the 9th grade of the Växjö panel in Swedish were therefore examined in relation to the question of whether the students normally see video or not. The range of possible marks is from 1 (lowest) to 5 (highest) and they were awarded to the students towards the end of December 1980 approximately two months before the video questions were administered. Table 9 shows the results:

Answer alternative %	Mark in Swedish				
	1	2	3	4	5
See video	75	46	37	23	9
Don't see video	25	54	63	77	91
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Nr	4	79	153	151	34

Table 9. School performance and video use, 9th grade Växjö panel (Source: Media Panel 1981, Nr = 421)

This table shows a clear tendency for those receiving lower grades in Swedish to be more likely to report watching video. Although the very small Nr receiving mark 1 makes this category unreliable, the trend for the other marks is clear and indicates that lower school marks are associated with above average video use, so that of those receiving the highest mark (5), only 9% report seeing video.

This is not the whole picture, however, the grade received in Swedish in the 9th grade was also related to the types of programmes which those pupils who saw video themselves reported viewing. Eight of the programmes most frequently named as being watched by the 9th grade pupils were examined in terms of the school mark in Swedish. The results are shown in table 10. This indicates a very interesting differential viewing pattern according to school mark. The table has been divided into three sections. In the first section we have three programme categories, war films, horror films and 'violence'. It is immediately noticeable that in terms of school mark these categories are markedly concentrated at the lower end of the scale, and decline with improved performance.

The second group consists of just one category 'recorded TV programmes' and is concentrated amongst those who receive average or above average marks in Swedish. Indeed of all the viewing categories it alone claims pupils with the highest academic mark.

Swedish grade	War films	Horror films	Vio-lence	TV progs	Viewing detect/ crime	Category adventure	Porno-graphy	Films
1	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	8
2	67	46	43	0	28	18	22	8
3	33	27	35	50	43	46	67	50
4	0	18	22	28	29	36	11	34
5	0	0	0	22	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	Group 1 N= 40			Group 2 N= 18	Group 3 N= 53			

Table 10. What is viewed and School Performance (%)
(Source: Media Panel, 1981)

The third group corsisting of detective, adventure, pornography and 'films' shows a pattern of more or less normal shape distributions according to school mark. It appears from this that whilst these types of content are generally popular across the academic performance range the other four categories are significantly related to performance, particularly the fact that war/violent material is associated with rather low marks.

A picture of video use vis a vis the pupils orientation to schcol is, therefore, beginning to emerge. Complementing Wall & Cederblads finding that video viewers are more likely to play truant we now see that video use is associated with lower rather than higher school marks and that various types of programme content are also associated with low or high marks or have a general appeal across the whole range of marks. Thus, if as Wall & Cederblad suggest heavy video viewers tend to be boys all this together begins to indicate that there may exist a small group of underachieving boys who are heavy video users and are especially involved in violent

or horrific material. Testing of this hypothesis indicates one possible fruitful direction for future research on video use.

Even beyond the hypothesized existence of such an extreme group there is evidence that video use may be associated with a less positive attitude towards school. In research wave three the Växjö panel were asked if, given a free choice, they would leave school before the end of compulsory school. The results of this question were then examined in terms of whether the pupils reported seeing video. The results are shown in table 11.

See video	Given free choice			
	Would stay at school till 16	Would leave before 16	Don't know	All
Yes	31	54	43	35
No	69	46	57	65
Total	100	100	100	100
Nr	574	39	215	828

Table 11. Leaving school early and video use
(Source: Media Panel 1981)

This table indicates that a positive attitude towards staying at school, given a free choice, is associated with below average video viewing, whilst those stating that they would leave school early are significantly more likely to watch video. Although this latter group is numerically small compared to the first, and therefore, perhaps of limited generalizability, it does reinforce the hypothesis stated earlier that there exists a group of negative to school, low performing adolescents who have a much greater propensity to use video than others, a position even further reinforced by the fact that it was found that there was a tendency for those who reported doing least homework ('none at all' or 'less than half an hour a day') to be above average video users. (42% of them

reported using video against an overall average of 35%.)

4.4 Summary: Education and Video Use

This chapter has clearly indicated that various aspects of education, both of parents and their children, are associated with particular patterns of video usage. The relationship between mass media and education, beyond assertions of harmful effects of the former on the latter has been much undervalued and under-investigated in media research. It can be postulated that the whole relationship between the two agencies of socialization is far more complicated than the simple 'harmful' cause-effect model suggests. It is in fact quite possible to reverse the traditional formulation by hypothesizing that school failure leads to heavier media immersion rather than vice versa incorporating the notion of the existence of specific school subcultures with differential relationships to mass media. Such a perspective demands that the whole school experience be taken into account when dealing with mass media use and it also requires that the concept of mass media be differentiated into its various parts so that the relationship of the school experience to each medium can be analyzed separately. Thus for example, the relationship between school performance and pop music can be examined and compared to that between school performance and television watching. Research has indicated the existence of pro and anti school subcultures in the adolescent population which have quite distinct norms and leisure activities. It is fair assumption therefore that membership of such groups will affect media use. The results presented in this chapter go some way to support such a position. Unfortunately the third research wave of the media panel came just as the onset of the 'take off' period of video in Sweden so that the information on video use possessed is not as complete as one might wish. Future research, however, can take account of these findings and incorporate both the school and video use in future work on adolescent mass media use.

4.5 Video and Future Mass Media Research

The question which is now posed is that of the direction of future media research, especially among youth. It is now obvious that video has become a significant part of the media environment in Sweden and that no future research into the mass media can afford to ignore it if it wishes to accurately represent that environment. This is not only true for work on mass media in general, but also for research into our relationship with any specific medium. As we shall see in the next chapter the video technology and its potential uses do represent a significant departure from existing media forms implying that current definitions of various aspects of the mass media are no longer wholly appropriate. Research into youth and television must take account of the fact that recorded TV programmes on video are commonly viewed, yet this does not make video an adjunct to TV merely for it is at other times, by the same and/or different individuals, used as a type of 'home cinema'. It is also at various times in various groups almost entirely a peer group activity exclusive of adults. The result of all this may be that we must reconceptualize the electronic media environment in order to accomodate, successfully, the new technology. This apart from the other changes in the media environment which are already on their way and of which video is only the vanguard.

That the electronic media world is on the threshold of a period of significant change should by now be clear, and one does not need to be swept along by the euphoria or apocalypticism to realize it. It presents both a challange and a great opportunity to média research, especially of the longitudinal type, such as the media panel. A challange because any future longitudinal study must attempt to look years into a future which new developments make more or less uncertain, an exciting opportunity because for the first time in a generation we have the chance to study the impact of radically new developments on a population. Longitudinally we can approach the same individuals both <u>before</u>, <u>during</u> and <u>after</u> the onset of the new forms and obtain valuable insight into the social processes associated with technological change in communications.

5. VIDEO AND THE CHANGING MEDIA ENVIRONMENT

5.1 The Electronic Media Environment 1945-70

The Major changes that have taken place within the media environment since 1945 can usefully be represented diagrammatically. Such a representation, historically based, can help us to put video development into some kind of historical and macro developmental focus. If we examine media at the end of the 40's we find three forms predominating, one visual and two aural, occupying the central place in the media environment. Immediately after the end of the war, however, began the full development of television (B.B.C. TV had begun on a small scale in 1936 but its development was interrupted by the war), which as time proceeded came more and more into the centre of the media world taking audiences and revenue from existing forms. This process has been represented in figure 1.

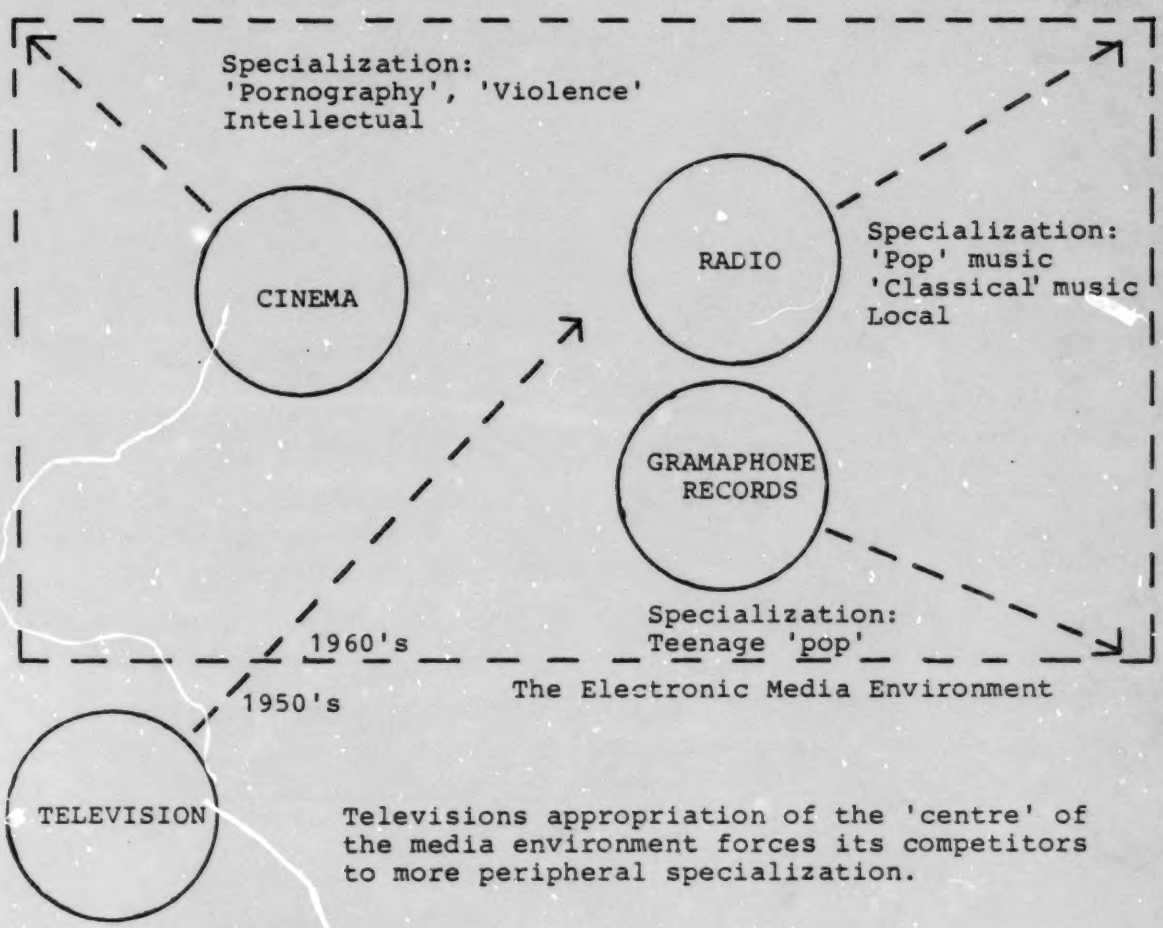

Fig 1. The Electronic Media environment 1945-70

The arrival of television into the media environment forced the existing media to shed those aspects with television performed better than they and to specialize their activities in specific areas where there was the possibility of a continued existence. This specialization now belongs to the history of the epoch. Roughly it can be characterized by television taking over general entertainment and mainstream media content from its rivals. It had the obvious advantage of simultaneity of sound and vision over the aural media of radio and gramaphone, and the advantage of proximity and convenience over its visual rival, the cinema. TV brought pictures into the home and it is not therefore surprising that its most devastating effect was on cinema audiences and revenue. The record industry and to a lesser, though still large extent, radio took refuge in the growing market for teenage entertainment and other minority group interests which TV failed to satisfy. Technological development helped, the development of stereophonic sound for the record industry and then, later, cassette recorders, and for radio, most significantly, the development of transistors which gave radio an important advantage even over television, you could take the message with you wherever you went, in the car, on the beach, to a party. This function of mobility is extremely important, especially for youth, and the example of radio should be remembered when we come to discuss video, and introduce the central concepts of 'control' and 'choice'.

The cinema gives the consumer almost no control, and often little choice, either of content, time or place. You must see what the film industry offers you at a time and place specified by the cinemas, if you are lucky enough to live in a large town or city your choice of content may embrace many films, for most middle sized or small towns, however, such choice will be greatly restricted. If the film offered is not to your taste or the time and place are inconvenient, hard luck! You might even go there and find that you can not get in, even if you do it maybe to suffer 2-3 hours in an uncomfortable seat in over or under heated conditions, perhaps with a distracting audience. The cinema is a given, you are almost powerless to control any aspect of it, and practically the only choices you have are to go or not to go, to see what is locally

offered or not.

Bearing this in mind, television gave obvious advantages, above all it gave some control over place and conditions of viewing, each individual or family could now control its own conditions of viewing at for a cheaper price at that. Television also gave a greater choice of content through a much more rapid change over of material especially over a period of a week, the normal length of stay of cinema programmes. Moreover in most countries television came to offer more than one channel thus multiplying the range of programme choice available. Those who did not like any of the programmes offered could take refuge elsewhere with their gramaphone or transistor radio.

All this of course has been noted before, but it is important to recall the advantages and impact of TV in order to seriously put into focus the more recent developments, for if we view video as one step along the continuum of control and choice over various aspects of media, we shall be better able to understand video's present significance and popularity and its likely future impact on the media environment.

Certainly by 1970 television had fully appropriated the central place in the media environment, and had been there for some time. Throughout the 70's it reigned essentially unchallanged, as we have seen, however, the development of video has brought a new element into the picture, a new element which will force the others into various forms of adjustment.

Figure 2 represents the developments within the media environment between 1970 and 1985. The major element is obviously the intrusion of video into the central arena. It is hypothesized that this development will have a similar effect to that earlier seen with TV's arrival, and will force existing media to further adapt and specialize and will move us further along the path of functional differentiation of media.

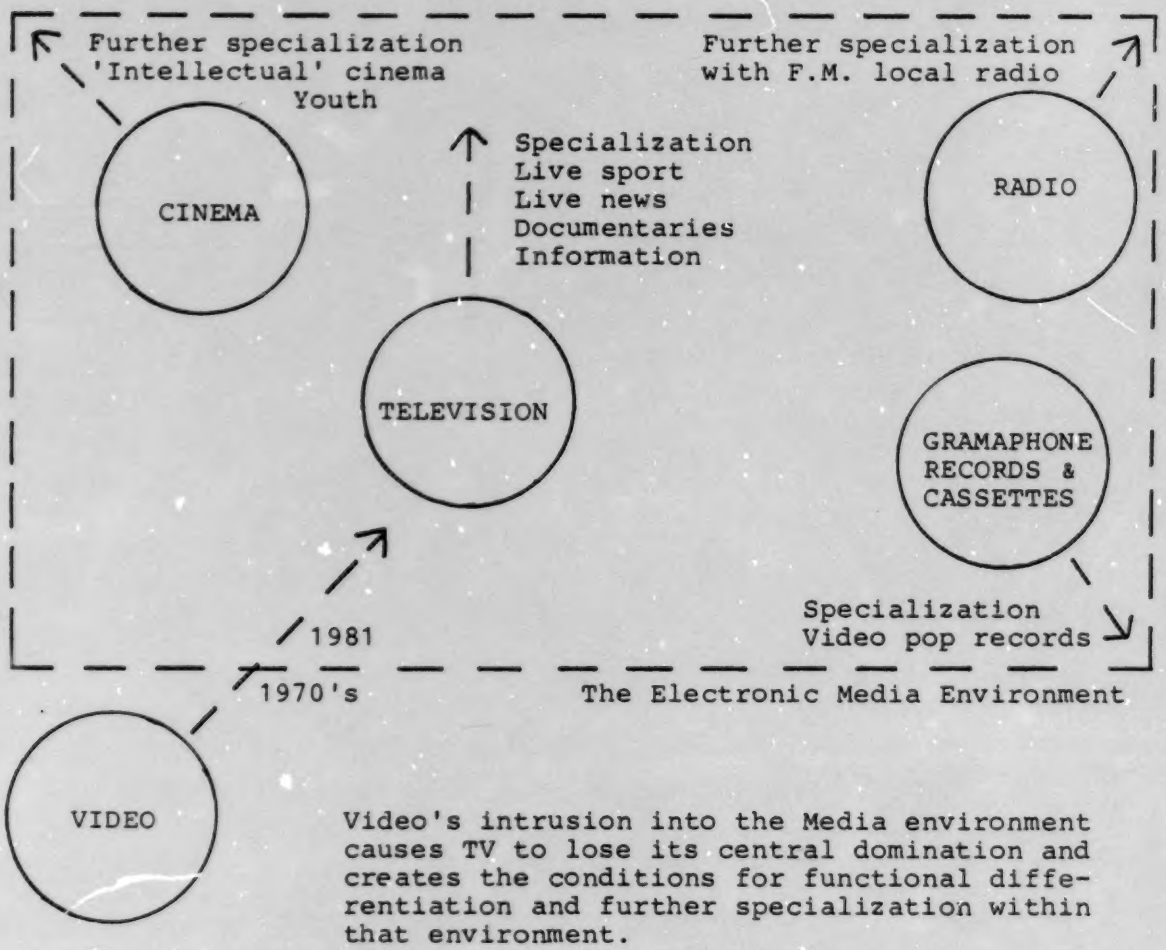

Fig 2. The Electronic Media Environment 1970-85

Cinema will again most likely be the hardest hit since video has qualities affecting cinema which, as we shall see, are even superior to those possessed by TV. It must be expected that the cinema will be forced through this competition to specialize still further to cater for those groups for whom neither TV nor video cater, that is it will be consigned to residual marginal groups. Of these the intellectual cinema and films especially aimed at youth appear to be the most likely directions, indeed such a trend can already be discerened. A recent Swedish report (Hur många går på Bio? PUB Sveriges Radio, Nov 1981) shows that the 15-24 age group predomi-

nates in cinema attendance and that students are the heaviest viewers in terms of occupation. In addition those countries with large immigrant populations from the developing world may see a growth in films from those areas such as the spectacular growth of the Indian cinema in Great Britain.

Radio will probably suffer least from video's intrusion and will continue, at least for the time being, to develop its 'local' functions. The prospects for the record/tape industry are unclear. In principle it is seriously threatened by the video recorder which is able to simultaneously deliver both the sound of a group and a picture of them performing it. As we saw in chapter 4, however, young people do not at present appeciably use video to watch music. This may be a problem of current availability of suitable material or it may betoken something else. In any event, at the present time it is only possible to speculate on the future of the record/tape industry.

These aural media of radio and cassette/record players occupy more or less intermediate positions in terms of the continuum of control and choice. Transistor radios and both records and cassettes are portable whereas the vast majority of televisions are not, the transistor therefore gives greater control over place and conditions of use than is possible with television whilst record and cassettes even give control and choice over the time of their use since they are not dependent upon outside transmitting agences as are TV and radio. Records also give vastly increased choice of content, whilst sound cassettes give in addition control over content since they enable you to record your own material. This means that aural cassettes were in terms of the dimensions of choice and control over place, time and content the furthest advance. For all that, however, purely aural media are naturally inferior to media which can reproduce both sound and vision simultaneously, it was obvious therefore that the next development from the sound cassette would be the video cassette.

5.2 The Advent of Video and its Impact on Television

If we now extend and apply the choice and control criteria to video

development we shall be able to place the video development into the conceptual system being drawn. Initially video was primarily going to give greater control over time, as an adjunct to the television set. Through solving channel conflicts it could also increase the potential choice of viewing material, making more programmes available to the viewer. In this role it functions as a supplement to television improving the relationship between TV output and the viewer, thereby leading to the potential for greater television viewing, with better control over time of viewing for the individual.

If this were the end of the story, however, video would not now be attracting the public attention it is. There is another aspect to video which is becoming increasingly apparent which was not altogether expected in the initial stages of video development, and this aspect may turn out to have great importance in future media development. It is that video also gives much greater choice of, and most especially potential control over,content. As often happens, consumers have taken the potential of video to its logical conclusion.

Moreover video is mobile and therefore shares the same attractions for youth as the transistor radio and the sound cassette, you can carry the cassette with you and use it where you wish (assuming widespread availability of apparatus. Even this requirement may become irrelevent however, with the development of mini-video. Technological progress here can be expected to be analogous with taped sound which began with large, sophisticated recorders and has now arrived at pocket sized cassette recorders). Video also gives the possibility to control with whom you watch, more so than with television. When a particular TV programme is transmitted your family may be at home, similarly in the homes of your friends, videograms, however, allow you to record, or hire, material which can then be viewed in a group over which one can engineer control over entry. For youth this means greatly enhanced opportunity for choosing favoured material to view in the abscence of parents. From the peer group only one videogram owning set of parents need be away and the stage is set for whatever type or form of relationship

to video content desired by the group to be given full reign. The observed attraction of video for the teenage group is not, viewed in this light, surprising, nor is it surprising that they use video to view what they do. As often happens, youth were amongst the first to appropriate a new form of technology and to use it in innovatory ways.

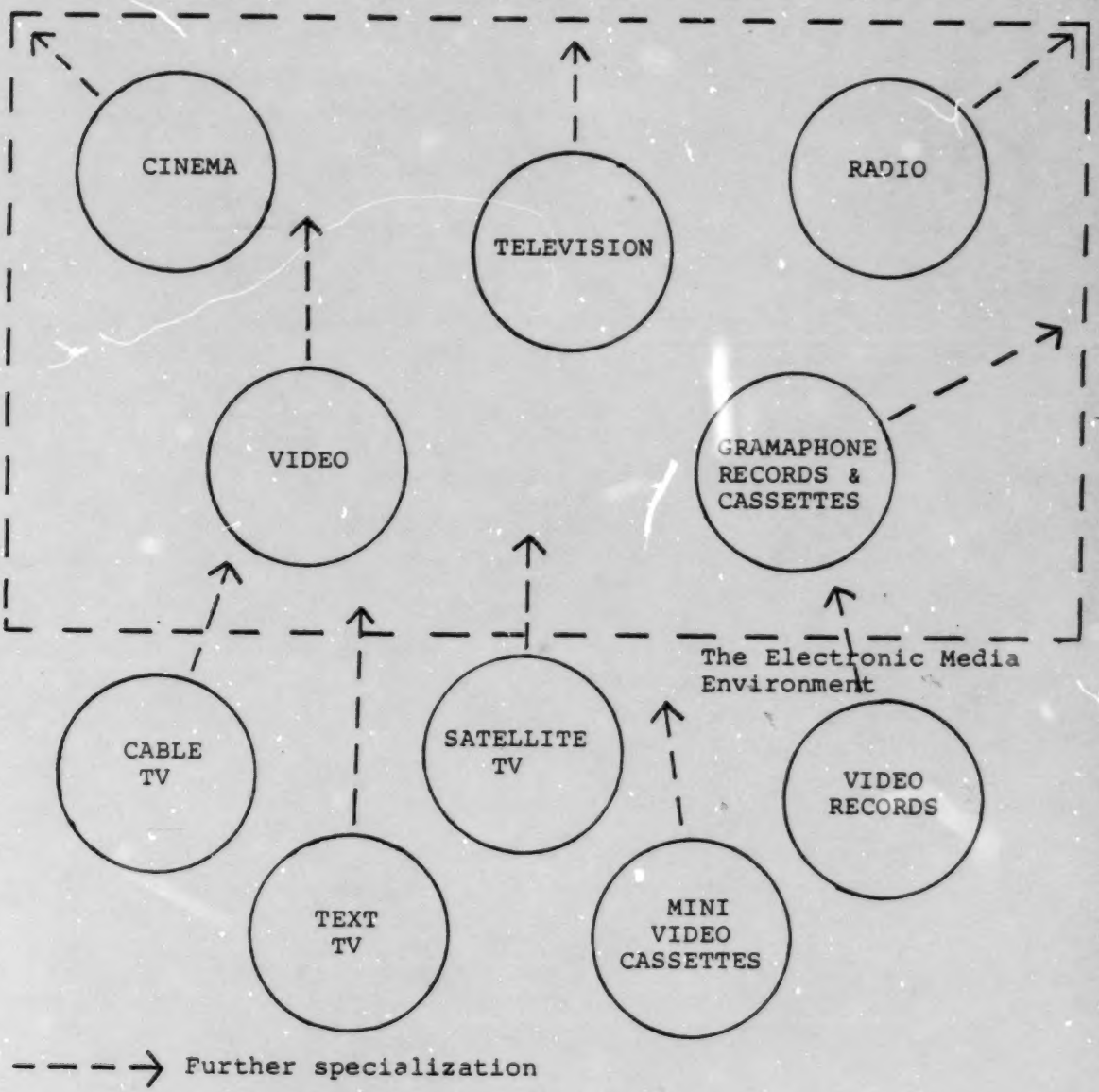

Fig 3. The Electronic Media Environment 1985-?

Video in this way comes to occupy the opposite pole of the choice/control continuum which was our starting point. This continuum has three dimensions, place and condition, time, and content. We noted at the beginning that the cinema gave very little choice and no control over any of these dimensions and we saw how television's provision of a greater range of choice and of partial control over place and conditions of viewing helped it to supplant the cinema as the major electronic visual medium. We now see that video continues this process by providing a hugely expanded choice and simultaneous control over all three dimensions. I can choose and control where, when, how and what to see. Even if I do not like the choice of thousands of titles available to me at present, I will soon have many more and also have the opportunity, relatively easily, to make my own video material, something virtually impossible with television technology as it is today. We have also seen how a parallel development has taken place with the aural media with the traditional wireless giving way to the transistor radio and records being challenged by tape recorders and then smaller and smaller cassette recorders. In all these cases what the successful new technology has offered is increased choice and/or control over the dimensions discussed. There is every reason to suppose therefore that future development of electronic media will follow the same path. Diagrammatically these processes can roughly be represented thus:

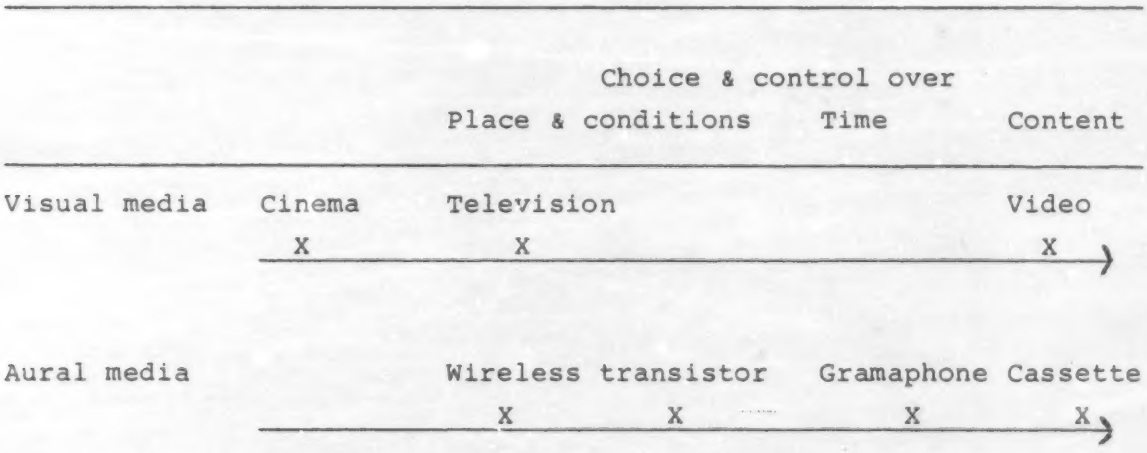

Fig 4. The Choice/control continuum

The relative advantages of the various media forms can clearly be seen below:

Media	Choice place/ condi-tions	Control place/ condi-tions	Choice time	Control time	Choice content	Control content
Cinema	-	-	-	-	+	-
TV	+	-	-	-	+	-
Transistor radio	+	+	-	-	+	-
Gramaphone	+	+	+	+	+	-
Sound cassette	+	+	+	+	+	+
Video cassette	+	+	+	+	+	+

N.B. Obviously the range of choice and therefore realistic alternatives available heavily depends upon where one lives.

Seen in this light the attraction and advantages of video are clear, especially for the teenage age group. The question then becomes, what are the consequences for television?

It is a reasonable prediction that in the situation described video will take over some forms of content from television. Most forms of film, theatre, thrillers etc and perhaps music may become predominantly video based. Television will lose its 'overall' entertainment function as earlier radio lost the same function to TV, for the simple reason that within the choice/control criteria video is the more effective medium. This further implies that TV will be forced to specialize into those areas which it does best. Furthermore the current technological advantages of satellite, cable and text TV will aid and speed this process of specialization. Figure 3 conceptualizes the probable changes in the video environment after 1985, an environment chiefly characterized by specialization, decentralization and functional differentiation, both of form and con-

tent.

The greatest facet of TV is its 'live' transmission potential and it is likely that such things as live sport (from the whole world via satellite), live concerts, news, events etc will become even more distinctively TV's province. With news and documentaries the journalistic function of TV can be expected to increase at the possible expense of the press. In this respect the coming news/features dominated 'breakfast TV' in Great Britain is the first signal. Via cable TV television will be able to offer greater choice and control, perhaps even counteracting the spread of video. It also gives TV far greater economic potential to deal with 'local' matters. Finally text TV will enable TV to develop an increasingly important information function.

One thing is certain all embracing TV, as we know it is doomed, consumers are already beginning to vote with their feet and their feet are carrying them to the video boutiques.

Two general features of all these developments are functional differentiation and the coming decentralization of media as a result of the new technological developments. We saw earlier how each successive technological advance forced existing media to specialize and concentrate on those aspects it could still do more effectively than the new medium. In part this involved innovation, in part the appropriation and development of residual areas left by the new form. This process of specialization will be accelerated by video and can be seen in terms of an advancing functional differentiation of electronic media. In the past with only a few forms, such as radio and in its turn television, these have attempted to be 'all things to all people' with an all embracing concept of general entertainment. With technological differentiation and a coming profusion of media forms such a concept is obsolete. Greater technological differentiation of electronic media giving greater choice and control to the user inevitably implies a far greater degree of functional differentiation for each medium. It implies a form of 'media Darwinism' that each medium must concentrate upon that type of material for which it is most fitted and which it does most effecti-

vely. For television to attempt its all embracing generalized programming in the age of video, satellite, cable and text TV would be absurd. And the more choice and control we get, the greater functional differentiation will be implied.

The days of national, centralized media content control are also probably over, or that state control will at least become far more difficult. The changes are proceeding very unequally as between national systems, those, like Sweden with full national monopolies, will be able to hold out longest but it is hard to see how they can continue to do so indefinitely.

A recent prospectus for video use in the third world summed up the potential of the development in the following way:

"Video communication can be multi directional, person-centered, locally originated and feeling sensitive. Because it is simple to understand and operate, relatively inexpensive and durable it can also act to democratize communication activity in a profound way. Video's unique strength is that it does not require central processing the way film, print, television and practically every other medium does. So it opens up many different kinds of horizontal exchanges ... the freeing potential ... is simply enormous " (Stuart M. 1981).

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